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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 30 May 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a telegram sent to you by Dr. Branko Kostić, Vice-President of the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Telegram dated 30 May 1992 from the Vice-President of the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General

Having reviewed the draft of the Security Council resolution on sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or rather Serbia and Montenegro, prepared by Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, we feel most profoundly concerned and deeply disappointed.

If this draft were to be adopted as it stands, such a resolution would constitute a unique example of a member country of the United Nations being punished even though:

(a) It does not have a single soldier or armed formation outside its territory;

(b) It has not carried out nor is it in the process of carrying out mobilization of its armed forces;

(c) On its territory there are about 400,000 refugees, including thousands of Muslims, who have sought shelter from the brutality of the civil war and who have all been adequately taken care of;

(d) It is providing all kinds of humanitarian aid on a continuous basis to the afflicted population of Bosnia-Herzegovina;

(e) It has publicly and resolutely been using all its political influence to halt the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is undertaking numerous other steps to affect a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

On the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, peace and security reign. In no way is the conflict in the neighbourhood being instigated or encouraged. On the contrary, every effort is being made to prevent it and to restore peace and security for all.

The greatest responsibility for the tragic developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina lies with the authorities of that Republic, which have, in violation of their own Constitution and without prior political agreement of the three constituent national communities inhabiting it, undertaken a series of measures and actions on the domestic and international levels that actually provoked the bloody inter-ethnic war, with its tragic consequences.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did everything in its power to prevent and halt the fighting and to help find a political and peaceful way of dealing with the outstanding problems. At the same time, it sought to avoid interfering in those conflicts: all the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who

happened to be on the territory of that Republic doing their regular military service at the time of the outbreak of conflicts were withdrawn immediately, with the exception of a number of military cadets, mostly under 17, attending the Military School in Sarajevo, who remained blocked and who were prevented by force from returning to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This would therefore be an unprecedented case of "aggression" being committed without an army and of the citizens of the country being proclaimed the "victim of aggression" in large numbers and of all nationalities seeking salvation on the territory of the would-be aggressor.

The method chosen to punish and put the blame on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot contribute to halting the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the conflict has not been provoked or instigated in any way by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Having opted for the preservation of their former homeland, the Serbs and Montenegrins, together with the members of other nations living on the territory that comprises Serbia and Montenegro, underlined as their primary concern the safeguarding of peace and advocated a peaceful settlement to all the existing problems on the soil of the former Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hereby reaffirms:

Firstly, that it respects the territorial integrity of all the other Republics and that it has no territorial claims on others;

Secondly, that it will use all means at its disposal to immediately stop the fighting and to enable effective international control and protection against any outside interference in the conflict;

Thirdly, that it will effectively prevent any military organization or operation on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia directed towards Bosnia-Herzegovina. To that end, it invites the deployment of United Nations observers along the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to control it;

Fourthly, it urges that the necessary conditions be ensured to enable the efficient and unhindered distribution of badly needed humanitarian aid by the opening of all communications in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including placing the international airport in Sarajevo under international control;

Fifthly, it emphatically reaffirms its strong opposition to forcible expulsion and change of the ethnic composition of the population and again urges the earliest possible return of all displaced persons to their homes.

We are confident that impartial study of the evidence on the ground would prove that the accusations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are unfounded. We therefore request that before any measures are taken, the

grounds on the basis of which they have been proposed be checked on the ground. For that purpose we would again like to address an invitation to a delegation of the Security Council and you personally to witness the sincerity of our efforts in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to put an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible and to prevent the continued suffering of its citizens and the devastation of their property.

Instead of the proposed sanctions, which are, in our deep conviction, unjust and without precedent, a real contribution to the settlement of the crisis and an act of assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as an active member of the United Nations ever since its inception, would be the urgent convocation of an international conference on Yugoslavia with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council, a representative of the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the European Economic Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as all the parties involved from Yugoslavia. The conference would be geared towards providing firm guarantees for the implementation of the agreement that would ultimately be reached on a comprehensive settlement to the crisis, including the currently most difficult situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are hereby enclosing our specific proposal regarding the mandate of this conference (see appendix).

Branko KOSTIĆ
Vice-President of the
Presidency of Yugoslavia

APPENDIX

Proposal for the conference on Yugoslavia

1. All parties shall seek to resolve and overcome all problems in the present crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Yugoslav territories exclusively through dialogue and cooperation, without confrontations or use of force.

2. All the three confronted parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall accept an instantaneous and unconditional cease-fire and establish a joint tripartite group to control that operation, including in that group representatives of the United Nations.

3. In parallel with the launching and implementation of that operation would begin the disarming and demobilization of members of the armed formations of each of the three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, down to a level that would satisfy the requirements of legitimate defence and at the same time contribute to the restoration of mutual confidence. In that process, the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its readiness to take over and transport, with the prior consent of the leaderships of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United Nations Security Council, the heavy weaponry from Bosnia-Herzegovina to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

4. Concurrently with the implementation of paragraphs 2 and 3, the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina would resume its work along the lines of cantonal or confederal organization of the three constituent units, on which a tripartite consensus would have to be reached within three weeks from the resumption of the conference.

5. The current conference on Yugoslavia would resume its work based on the approach of equal treatment of both the option for independence embraced by the Republics that have seceeded, and the federal option taken by the Republics that have decided to remain in the common State of Yugoslavia.

6. Normal inter-State relations would be established among former parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the prospect of special interlinkage in areas where there are pronounced shared interests.

7. All States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would confirm that they feel bound by all the international obligations assumed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the basis of concluded or ratified international treaties, conventions or agreements in all areas, and especially in the field of human rights and rights of national minorities.

8. All these States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would proceed immediately to develop and adopt confidence-building

measures, including measures reducing the level of armed forces, and disarmament, down to a level necessary for legitimate defence and harmonized with the level of armed forces in their immediate neighbourhood.

9. All States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would sign separate bilateral pacts and a joint multilateral pact on friendship, mutual respect and good-neighbourly relations.